

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 PM-03 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 RSC-01

PRS-01 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00 SAM-01 SAB-01

IO-10 /068 W

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R 011050Z FEB 75

FM USINT BAGHDAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1597

INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

S E C R E T BAGHDAD 103

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, IZ, UR

SUBJECT: IRAQI-IRANIAN RELATIONS

REF: BAGHDAD 52 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: POSSIBILITY OF IRAQI-IRANIAN RAPPROCHEMENT
INCREASED BY EFFORTS OF EGYPTIANS AND FRENCH TO GIVE SHAH
MORE OBJECTIVE APPRAISAL OF BAATH REGIME. IRAQI ACTIONS OF
PAST TWO YEARS SUPPORT CONCLUSION THAT THIS REGIME IS
INCREASINGLY PRAGMATIC, NATIONALISTIC, DETERMINED TO BE

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NON-ALIGNED AND THAT RADICAL RHETORIC IS BECOMING

FORM WITHOUT SUBSTANCE. END SUMMARY.

2. EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR AL-NAGGAR TOLD ME JAN 30 THAT HE WAS OPTIMISTIC ON POSSIBILITY OF IRAQI-IRANIAN RAPPROCHEMENT FOLLOWING SHAH'S VISIT TO CAIRO. HE SAID SADAT HAD GIVEN SHAH OBJECTIVE ANALYSIS OF BAGHDAD REGIME WHICH AL-NAGGAR BELIEVES SHAH DOES NOT GET FROM HIS EMBASSY, SAVAK OR THOSE AROUND HIM WHO FEAR TO EXPRESS VIEWS WHICH CONTRADICT THOSE HE HAS PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED. AL-NAGGAR SAID SHAH'S MAIN QUESTION TO SADAT WAS WHETHER PRESENT BAGHDAD REGIME REPRESENTED NATIONALIST REGIME OR WAS TOOL OF SOVIETS, AIMED EVENTUALLY AT OVERTHROWING IRANIAN REGIME. EGYPTIANS ARE CONVINCED THAT IRAQI REGIME IS NATIONALIST AND GAVE SHAH ANALYSIS UPON WHICH THIS CONCLUSION BASED.

3. AL-NAGGAR SAID EGYPT WAS PLAYING ACTIVE ROLE AS GO-BETWEEN, BUT NOT AS MEDIATOR. HE SAID HIGH LEVEL IRAQI-IRANIAN MEETING IN PROCESS OF BEING SET UP. EGYPTIANS HAD PASSED MESSAGE TO SHAH IN EUROPE AND NOW AWAITING HIS REPLY. HE HOPED FOREIGN MINISTER HAMMADI, OF WHOM HE HAS LOW OPINION, WOULD NOT BE CHOSEN TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS.

4. FRENCH AMBASSADOR PIERRE CERLES TOLD ME PM CHIRAC HAD ALSO DISCUSSED IRAQI WITH SHAH AND PASSED MESSAGE FROM GOI DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO IRAN.

5. COMMENT: IT HAS BEEN EVIDENT FOR SOME TIME THAT, FROM BAGHDAD VANTAGE POINT, USUALLY CITED IRAQI-IRANIAN DIFFERENCES SUCH AS SEIZURE OF TUMBS (WHICH IRAQ WILLING TO TURN OVER TO ARAB LEAGUE), SHATT AL-ARAB (IRAQ APPARENTLY WILLING TO ACCEPT THALWEG IF FACE SAVING FORMULA CAN BE FOUND TO NEGOTIATE NEW TREATY), FRONTIER DEMARCATION, AND EVEN KURDISH WAR ARE NOT MAIN ISSUES NOR DIFFICULT TO RESOLVE. BASIC ISSUE IS PROFOUND HISTORICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCE ACCOMPANIED BY TOTAL LACK OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE. BAATHIS ARE CONVINCED SHAH IS DETERMINED TO OVERTHROW THEIR REGIME AND SHAH, ACCORDING TO MANY OBSERVERS, IS EQUALLY CONVINCED BAATH REGIME BACKED BY USSR IS OUT TO GET HIM. WHAT EFFORTS OF EGYPTIANS, FRENCH AND OTHERS MAY SUCCEED IN DOING IS GIVING SHAH MORE REALISTIC APPRAISAL OF IRAQI REGIME. IRAQI
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ACTIONS DURING PAST TWO YEARS; INCLUDING RESUMPTION OF RELATIONS WITH IRAN, FRG AND UK; PUBLIC RAPPROCHEMENT WITH CONSERVATIVE ARAB LEADERS; EXTENSIVE ECONOMIC DEALS WITH U.S., WEST EUROPEANS AND JAPAN; AND MOST RECENTLY RECEPTION OF DAVID ROCKEFELLER, CONTRACT FOR TWO SHERATON HOTELS AND PURCHASE OF EIGHT MORE BOEINGS GIVE SUBSTANCE TO EGYPTIAN ANALYSIS. IT IS MORE IMPORTANT THAT IRAQ'S NEIGHBORS BE AWARE OF THIS SUBSTANCE RATHER THAN ALLOWING THEIR ATTENTION

TO FOCUS ONLY ON RADICAL RHETORIC WHICH REGIME STILL FINDS
NECESSARY TO SPOUT FOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL REASONS. RHETORIC
IS CLEARLY BECOMING INCREASINGLY MEANINGLESS AS GAUGE OF IRAQI
POLICY.
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